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another at right angles to the first until a structure is raised tall enough to contain the maize to be stored. The *cuezcomate* (N. *cuezcomatl*) is a vasiform granary, plastered inside and out with clay. In it is kept shelled corn.

Perhaps every fourth dwelling has a sweathouse (S. *temazcal;* N. *temazcalli*), well known as a part of the pre-Columbian house group. This is made of stone set in mortar. It is rectangular, approximately square, and about five feet high at the center. The roof is low peaked. The one entrance is barely large enough to permit entrance of a man on hands and knees. Although occasionally now used merely to achieve cleanliness, its use, as in pre-Columbian times, is chiefly therapeutic.

These are all indigenous features. Although bees and turkeys were domesticated before the Conquest, it is not clear to what extent the beehive—a simple wooden box—and the fowlhouse preserve pre-Columbian elements. The fowlhouse (S. *gallinero;* N. *pizcalli*) is a part of nearly every domestic establishment (but in many homes some of the chickens perch on ladders in a corner of the dwelling). It is usually built of stone, to keep out marauding carnivores, and has about the size and form of the sweathouse, except that the roof is tiled. To protect a horse or *burro* a thatched or tiled roof is erected in a corner of the yard. Something in which to store water completes the house group. This is either a plastered tank (S. *pila*) or a large jar (S. *tianja;* N. *acomitl*) or merely an alcohol tin.

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*796 the afternoon a dinner is served there to twelve of the older men. This symbolizes the Last Supper. A thirteenth chair is left vacant. The Lenten meal is eaten: [264] fish, rice, and sometimes lentils and the dish known as [262] *revoltijo*.[1]

Wednesday.—Today and Thursday and Friday and on Saturday morning only absolutely necessary work is done. No social entertainment is held, no rocket is discharged. The men do not go to fetch wood from the mountains; the public washing-stones are deserted. The women do only the unavoidable grinding and cooking. People try to have enough water hauled by Tuesday night to last until Saturday. The bells are [534] not rung in the church towers; instead, the *matraca*, a huge wooden rattle, is sounded.

*796 *Thursday*.—The altars in the church are decorated 782 with laurel and with cedar. On each lie rows of oranges and *toronjos* (the shaddock), with little squares [824] of gold and silver paper pasted on them.[2] An image [778] (El Señor de Santo Entierro) is displayed in a glass-and-gilt coffin. A man sits at the entrance of the church to collect offerings (which are occasional and not made as perpetual pledges) for the crown and clothing of this image. In the afternoon, if the priest is there, he washes the feet of the Disciples. Many

[1] A seasoned stew of shrimps and nopal (cactus).

[2] The laurel and cedar are given away the following Monday. They are used [789] to stop storms, particularly hailstorms. When a storm approaches, people put one of these sacred boughs on the fire and the storm recedes. Frances Toor (*op. cit.*, p. 54) says they are also hung up at doors and windows to keep out evil spirits. The oranges and shaddocks are blessed by the priest and sold; the peel is [757] used for various remedies.

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body of public knowledge, of positive practices, which are fixed, traditional, and, in general, magical. 755

The extent to which manifestations of the morbid are segregated and distinguished as diseases is nowhere very definitely fixed. The number of diseases known is determined simply by the number of names. Any cluster of symptoms may be isolated and given a name; a new disease is thereby created. So the extent to which diseases and treatments are discriminated in Tepoztlán probably varies greatly with the experience and special interests of the individual. It would seem advisable, therefore, to exhaust the medical knowledge of a number of individuals separately, in order to describe the range of medical knowledge in Tepoztlán. In the present preliminary investigation this was not done. The materials come largely from two informants, a *tonta* and a *correcto*. Both described essentially the same symptoms and the same treatments for the more conspicuous diseases. The educated man knew little about herbal remedies, but made more distinctions in medical terminology.[1] The less educated woman showed detailed familiarity with the manifestations and mode of treatment of the diseases designated below as "folk diseases" and a vast acquaintance with herbal medicine. 753 [565]

Of the diseases recognized and treated in Tepoztlán [757]

[1] Fever generally is known as *totonializtli*. Typhoid is *cocolotzintli*, malaria is *atonahuiztli*, pneumonia is *ahcolcocoliztli* ("sickness of the shoulders"). *Ihtecualiztli* is dysentery. *Tzintecopalicihuiztli* is diarrhea with tenesmus. *Yezhuetzi* is hemorrhage. *Necoxonilli* is probably hernia. *Tzompilahuiztli* is catarrh. *Tlatlaziztli* is an ordinary cough; *chichitlatlaziztli* is a hard, racking cough ("a dog's cough"). [192]

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753 there are first simple symptoms, such as headache
757 (*tzonteconcualiztli*), earache (*nacazcocoliztli*), toothache (*tlancochcocoliztli*), cough (*tlatlaziztli*), and intestinal
[752] disorders generally. These, and the common external disorders, such as tumors, blisters, wounds, burns, insect bites, and fractures, are recognized as coming from a variety of natural causes. Their treat-
757 ment is specific, usually herbal, and does not involve much ritualistic medicine. For each such ailment there are often many separately recognized treatments, all more or less alike in nature. The notes accumulated on treatment of fever will illustrate.

Alta reina or *tzotzonixtlalli* [*Piqueria trinervia* Cav.] leaves are applied to the soles of the feet.

The leaves of *alta reina* are boiled with those of yerba de San José [N. *sanhuanaxictzi; Verbena polystachya* H.B.K.], *malvas* [*Malva parviflora* L.], and the petals of *rosas de Castilla* [*Rosa* sp?], and the resulting infusion is taken internally.

Leaves of borage [*boraja; Borago officianalis* L.] are steeped in water and drunk cold.

The entire plant of *tlatlancuaye* [no Spanish name; *Iresene interrupte* Benth.] is ground and steeped with other herbs and placed on the lungs as a poultice. The other ingredients are *rosas* [273] *de Castilla*, coriander, and a little wine.

The leaves of *espinoncillo* [*Loeselia mexicana* (Lam.) Brand.] are boiled and the infusion taken as a purge.

Leaves of *digerillo* [N. *axaxaxoxihuitl;* the castor-oil bush] are boiled and the infusion drunk.

By far the largest part of medical treatment, especially in the case of these simpler ailments, is herbal. The ancient Mexicans[1] had a wide knowledge of herb-

[1] Francisco Hernandez, *Cuatro libros de la naturaleza.* Also A. Gerste, S.J., *La médecine et la botanique des anciennes Mexicaines.*

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al medicine, and a special goddess of herbs; and the Mexican folk of the present day have retained and modified much of this herbal lore.[1] The principal informant on this point collected in the vicinity of Tepoztlán one hundred and ten remedial plants, and for each she gave the name and use.[2]

The infectious diseases acquired from Europeans, which occasionally are epidemic in Tepoztlán, such as smallpox, whooping-cough, and diphtheria, are well known and named. Judging from the materials available here, there is not much specialized folk medicine in connection with them. Venereal disease is plainly distinguished. A common remedy is the root of sarsaparilla, sometimes boiled with tamarind seeds. The only remedy for consumption noted is to boil a piece of china in water and drink it.

But of the diseases which are regarded as entities, and not mere symptoms that may result from varying causes, those most frequently diagnosed and treated are a group which may be termed "folk diseases" as distinguished from concepts of the morbid directly imitated from modern Western civilization. Some of these folk diseases involve supernatural causation, and some do not. The latter class are commonly rough approximations of disease categories recognized in modern city life.

[1] Louis Sue, *Les plantes médicinales du Mexique.*

[2] Those on this list which it was possible to identify botanically are given, with their uses, in Redfield, art., "Remedial Plants of Tepoztlán."

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753 757 *Los biles* ["the biles"].—"This is when you cannot feel the pulse. One is very weak and does not want to eat." Various herbal remedies are administered.

El empacho ["the surfeit"; N. *nexuitilli*].—"Children eat too much, milk and tortillas, for instance, and then they do not want to eat." This is apparently indigestion. A herbal cathartic remedy is given.

La disipela [N. *totonqui*, "heats" or *tlachinolli*—a term also applied to the burning of dry grass on the hills].—"A part of the body swells and gets red." There are a whole series of herbal remedies applied as poultices, as well as some internal remedies.

Cuacihuiztli.—[This Nahuatl term is also used in Spanish discourse. It plainly means rheumatism.] "One feels cold and hot; the bones grind together; sometimes a joint has little lumps on it." The remedy is the steam bath in the *temazcal* and the external application of herbal poultices.

Boca podrida [N. *camapalaniliztli*].—Both mean "rotten mouth." "The lips get white and look like pork meat." Certain leaves are toasted and steeped and the lips washed with the infusion.

Costumbre blanco [N. *iztacc-cocoliztli*, "white sickness"].—*Costumbre* is used in the sense of "catamenia." This is a disease of pregnant women. "They turn white and have pain in the abdomen. The trouble may often involve *necaxanilli*, "looseness of the waist" [womb]. Herbal remedies are taken to "fix the placenta."

There are doubtless others. *Tlancuatlatzihuiztli*, "laziness of the knees," has already been mentioned in chapter v, and *ixtlazolcocoliztli* in chapter vii. This latter disease, affecting newborn children, has, it will be remembered, a purely magical etiology.

[828] A small group of folk diseases demands special consideration. *La mohina* and *el espanto* are strong emotional states which are treated as diseases. In both cases uncontrollable passion, or long-persisting moods,

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which the individual comes to feel are beyond his control, are thought of as morbid entities. The folk practitioner diagnoses them and treats them like any disease.

La mohina ["fretfulness, peevishness"; no Nahuatl term given] is very common. "It is when one has become very angry. One may even get so angry one cannot get over it, but dies. Many things may cause it. For example, one may come to my house, and after he leaves I miss some object I prize. I blame the caller as the thief and get very angry. Or I may break something I am fond of and so get very angry. Children do not get this disease." The remedies are various quieting drinks. Spiced drinks are common, a tea made of lemon leaves, and especially an infusion of turnip peels.

El espanto ["the fright," "the terror"; no Nahuatl term given]. —"One trembles and grows weak and does not wish to eat. Anything frightening may cause it, as, for example, when you wake up suddenly in the night having seen a ghost [*muertito*]." The patient is bathed with laurel that has been blessed by the priest and with orange and shaddock peels which have been placed on the altars during Holy Week.[1]

Diseases thought to be caused by possession by evil spirits, so common in Mediterranean Europe, are apparently absent in Tepoztlán, perhaps because not characteristic of American Indian thought. On the other hand, the idea of the Evil Eye, just as little characteristic of the American aborigines, has been introduced by the Spaniards and is common all over Mexico.[2] The present materials do not contain any reference to the affliction by the name of the Evil

[1] *El espanto* is described from a village in Tehuantepec by Frances Toor in *Mexican Folkways*, No. 7 (1926), p. 31. There the cure consisted of making the sign of the cross, massaging with herbs, and prayers and invocations.

[2] In the state of Mexico, Gamio, *op. cit.*, II, 258; in Tehuantepec, Starr, *Notes on the Ethnography of Southern Mexico*, p. 52; in New Mexico, Espinosa, art., "Notes on New Mexican Folklore," pp. 395 ff.

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178 776 *ahuahque* are the mountain-dwelling, terrifying gods of thunder and rain, and are not connected with disease.

755 757 These limited materials suggest that in general the medical treatments in use in Tepoztlán are like those of all folk communities—a stock of traditional curative acts tending to be ritualistic. But, to a certain extent, there is available to an afflicted invididual the [369] choice of applying remedies of the city. Not a few have lived in the city and have learned to use some of [278] the drugs in official pharmacopeias. One or two in- [444] dividuals in Tepoztlán keep a few commercial drugs on hand for sale. There are drug stores in Cuernavaca, and not infrequently an individual, even a *tonto*, [484] will walk there to secure a medicine. A prolonged [752] toothache, which has survived the ministrations of the herbalist, may cause the sufferer to go to Cuernavaca to have the tooth extracted.

177 757 It might be supposed that this choice of remedial systems would in time bring about an experimental attitude on the part of Tepoztecans and favor the extension of rational conduct in the treatment of disease and the corresponding diminution of magical behavior. A collection of cases might show the mech- [369] anisms of the process. What affect the city ways are having on the attitude toward disease is, however, probably slowly felt, and so far the traditional cures are paramount. During two or three months of 1925 [759] or 1926 a Bulgarian doctor,[1] one of the few Europeans

[1] Known to the Tepoztecans as a German.

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to take up residence in Tepoztlán, attempted to develop a practice of medicine in this community of over four thousand. Although well liked, he was unsuccessful in his attempts to secure a practice; people continued to go to the herbalists, and he moved to Yautepec. It seems probable that the city treatments are, at first, simply incorporated into the general body of magical practices. Like people in distress everywhere, a Tepoztecan turns first to the cure with which he is familiar; if it fails, he turns to one less familiar, perhaps a more grossly magical practice from a mental world he has in general left behind him, perhaps an alien practice of the outside world into which he has not yet come.

The baby son of J. S., perhaps the best-educated man in Tepoztlán, a leading *correcto*, fell sick of an intestinal disorder on Monday. On Tuesday J. S. went to the shoemaker to get some medicines from him. The shoemaker prescribed opium and mercury pills and advised that the baby's stomach be rubbed with cold water. This was done. The baby was no better Tuesday, and J. S. sent to Yautepec to ask the doctor there for medicine. Meanwhile the baby grew worse, and J. S. rode up into the hills to find a kind of rose which is frequently steeped to make a remedy for intestinal troubles. This was administered to the baby. At night a patent medicine arrived from the doctor. The following day the baby was no better. On the advice of a neighbor the baby was given more herbal remedies, and its stomach was rubbed with suet. Meanwhile little care was taken with modifying the sick child's food. The next day the doctor came and the child was cured.

R. C. is a man who has spent a short time in Mexico City. He can be described as a *tonto* more sophisticated than most. One

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spring day he was on his way to San Andres to collect money due him for cattle sold on credit. Becoming tired, he rested beside the crosses at Cuicuitzcatla. He fell asleep, and while sleeping was soaked in a rainstorm. Next day he fell ill, and dreamed that little people were attacking him. He knew that in the rainstorm *los aires*, offended, had attacked him. So he went to a *curandera* in Tepoztlán. She washed him with herbs and directed that he get a live chicken and have *tamales* made to give to *los aires*. She told him that the dolls made in Tepoztlán were not good enough for *los aires* in a case as serious as this, and that he should get a doll from the stores in Mexico City. This he did. But at the last minute the *curandera* stole the doll from the tray which she was taking to Cuicuitzcatla, and *los aires* did not receive it. Someone saw the *curandera* take the doll, and told the patient. He did not get better. He went then to a doctor in Mexico City, who treated him for several weeks, without improvement. In increasing distress R. C. heard of a spiritualist who had come to Yautepec and was curing people through the medium of the spirits. R. C. went to him, but again no cure was effected. He was then urged to try a *curandera* at Santiago who specialized in curing *los aires*. She told him that *los aires* had been enraged by the loss of the doll, and that he must do it all over again. The washing with herbs was repeated, and a new and larger doll obtained. Finally the *curandera* arranged "the last cure" [*la ultima cura*]. R. C. walked to Cuicuitzcatla. On one side of him walked a musician playing a flute to conciliate *los aires*, and on the other side a man with a whip who beat R. C. at intervals to show *los aires* his penitence.

The abandonment of the older, more magical, more ritualistic treatment probably takes place first in the case of the minor disorders. Some traditional remedial acts tend to pass under scrutiny and to be justified because of the rationally comprehended means they employ to achieve the desired result. There is, for example, a notable difference in the way the sweathouse

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(*temazcal*) is regarded by a young *correcto* on the one hand and an old *tonto* on the other. The former no longer practices all the ritualistic uses of the *temazcal*. There is a growing tendency to use the sweathouse simply in order to get clean, to become refreshed. The *temazcal* is very slowly becoming secularized.

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[648] in which the national administrative apparatus affects the daily lives of Tepoztecans will be considered here.

TAXATION

[651] Federal taxation touches most Tepoztecans directly and is a common subject of complaint. Most Tepoztecans view it as an imposition and do not readily understand the need for taxation nor what is done with the money. In fact, Tepoztecans pay relatively little in federal taxes, primarily on the sale of charcoal, on the slaughter of animals, and on trade. Tepoztecans accept fatalistically the necessity of paying taxes, but it develops a negative and critical attitude toward the national government.

HEALTH SERVICES

[744] [757] The federal government has a health center in Cuernavaca which is frequented by some Tepoztecans. However, the majority, particularly the older people, do not use it because they still prefer *curanderos* and are not yet accustomed to the idea of receiving services from the state. Even the federal health workers who come into the village from time to time to administer inoculations against communicable disease are endured by most villagers out of "respect" for the great power of the government, rather than because of an understanding of their services.

AGRICULTURAL SERVICES

[656] The Departamento Agrario intervenes directly in the affairs of Tepoztecans who hold land under the *ejido* program. Federal authority is the final authority which resolves problems or conflicts concerning *ejido* lands. But here, too, many Tepoztecans see in the agrarian authorities an imposition rather than a system of public service. As we have shown earlier, the nationalization of the communal lands has lessened local control, and this has not been well accepted. Tepoztecans [423] do not yet understand the need for national control of forest resources, especially when such control conflicts with their local interests.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Perhaps the clearest form in which the Tepoztecan peasant sees the power of the federal government is in the federal troops. Almost as a matter of tradition, [702] Tepoztecans have viewed soldiers with strong suspicion and dislike, and have fought attempts to conscript their sons. However, the attitude toward federal troops today is quite different from that shown toward the Federales of the Díaz [701] regime. Today the troops stationed in the village fraternize with the population; and though they are "respected" there is less of the fear that existed during the Díaz regime. Federal troops have been sent to the village on a number of occasions in recent years, once in connection with resistance to conscription during [702] the early part of World War II, and again when local political contests resulted in [666] violence.

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of a more cooperative society like the Zuni Indians where, for example, three women of a single household grind corn in unison.

Much of the men's work is also done on an individual basis. It is common to see men working alone in the fields and returning alone in the evening. Similarly, a man will go alone to cut wood, burn charcoal, or transport goods to distant villages. The care of cattle by young men and boys is also frequently done by a single individual, although brothers or cousins sometimes go together. On cattle buying trips to Guerrero, two or three men will go together for mutual protection but each carries on his own business.

On a number of occasions during the year the entire family may work together on a single project. This occurs sometimes during the corn harvest, but more frequently in picking plums during September and October. The shelling of large quantities of corn for sale also may be done by the whole family. This occurs more often in the smaller outlying barrios where the women are less reluctant to do men's work. Finally, the barrio fiesta generally requires a great deal of cooperative endeavor within the family.

The daily division of labor within the household reveals how the family functions as an economic unit. We present in Chart 1 a synchronic record of the activities of each member of a family which we observed for this purpose over a period of four days. This family is a member of the upper economic group and owns several plots of land and some cattle. The parents are in their early fifties and the age of the three daughters ranges from thirteen to twenty-four. Another daughter and a son are away at boarding schools and contribute little to the family in the form of labor. The record was made from March 28 to March 31, 1944, during the dry season when the father had little work in the fields. In addition, the father was slightly ill with chills and fever during part of the recorded period. This was not a disadvantage since it served to keep him at home where his activities could be more readily observed. The picking of *guajes* (acacia pods) fortunately began during this period and gave us an opportunity to record in detail how that work is carried on.

The following record, though covering only four days, shows in detail how the general work patterns operate during this season of the year. The father is at home and does many chores normally done by his wife. His illness does not prevent him from working; in Tepoztlán a man remains in bed only when seriously ill. However, he rests a good deal and reads, which is something the father in our observed family rarely does.

The mother is generally the first to rise and make the fire. She serves the meals, "cures" her husband, visits her mother, and is the only one of the women in the family to take an afternoon nap with more or less regularity. The item "Visits woman," which appears among her activities on Thursday, was listed because she had learned that this woman would visit the boarding school where the absent daughter was studying, and the mother wished to send her daughter a package by this woman.

[text continues on p. 72]

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Of the *curanderos*, four are new and have learned their specialty within the last ten years. Of the two *chirimiteros* referred to by Redfield, one died a short time ago and the other still practices; four have learned their skill within the last six years. The two *huehuechiques* are the same ones of twenty years ago; there have been no new recruits. Of the two fireworks makers of twenty years ago, one has died; the other five are all new in the trade. The three mask makers of Redfield's time are still working, but in addition two sons and a cousin have learned the trade.

At this point we may ask what the prospects are for the survival of these folk specialists in the face of the changes which are taking place in the village. The prospects for the survival of the occupations of mask makers and fireworks makers are very good. The former is dependent primarily upon the Carnaval and the latter upon the barrio fiestas, neither of which shows the slightest signs of dying out. On the contrary, the former has grown in importance and has become an occasion of great spending, while the latter continues unabated and has the active support of the young men, many of whom are comparatively sophisticated.

The prospects for the survival of the *chirimiteros* are not quite as good because their function is gradually being taken over by the modern secular musicians. This tendency can be seen in the center barrios, where, as in Redfield's time, culture changes appeared first in the village. In the last barrio fiesta of San Miguel, in place of the primitive *chirimía*, a fifteen-piece band played from the chapel roof throughout the night. The profession that seems certain to become extinct is that of the *huehuechique*, for this occupation depends on the knowledge and use of Náhuatl, which is rapidly disappearing in the village.[8] An important change in connection with the occupations of *chirimitero* and *huehuechique* is that these specialists are now paid in money; formerly they were compensated with food and drink, another indication of the increasing importance of money.

Prediction in the case of the *curanderos* is more difficult. Most Tepoztecans are not ready to give up their *curanderos*. But they have reached the stage where they are willing to consider the doctor as an alternative, especially in the case of serious illness. Many Tepoztecans now visit private doctors and the Public Health Clinic in Cuernavaca. Certainly the hold of the *curanderos* has become much weaker; they are no longer as busy as formerly, and their income on the whole is very small. There are only two *curanderos* in the village who have great prestige and good income.

This raises the question of the relative desirability of the survival of old institutions in the face of general trends toward modernization. While this problem will be discussed later, it can be pointed out here that a sharp distinction must be made between the social effects of such old institutions as the Carnaval and barrio fiestas on the one hand and the *curandero* on the other. The fiestas, especially the Carnaval, provide much needed diversion for all age groups and tend to unify the village.

[8] During the time that this was being written, one of the two *huehuechiques* died, and no new recruit has appeared to take his place.

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with cattle brought in from Guerrero in the belief that the animal would forget its past home.

Milk products are used for medicinal purposes. Whey, cheese, and butter are used for skin rashes, and cheese is used as a poultice for snake bites. Some families use, as a purgative, milk in which a cow's tail has been soaked. Pig's fat is commonly used as a salve for inflammations.

CHARCOAL

The production of charcoal by the burning of oak and other woods is one of the most important sources of income for many Tepoztecan families, but primarily for the poor. Charcoal production demands very little capital and few tools; it utilizes the communal forest resources; it serves as a convenient source of income for the landless peasants and as a supplementary source of income for those engaged in agriculture. As a rule, charcoal production is carried on as a part-time activity by farmers during the slack season. But in the smaller barrios of San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastián, about fifteen individuals engage in charcoal production as a full-time occupation.

Charcoal production has risen and fallen at different times in recent Tepoztecan history. Charcoal production on a large scale began shortly after the Revolution, when Tepoztecans returned to the village from their enforced exile. Desperately poor and with all their animals killed off, they eagerly turned to charcoal as salvation. This development was encouraged and organized by a provisional president of the municipio, Jesús Monroy, who was imposed by the state authorities in 1919 shortly after peace was established in the village. Monroy called a meeting of Tepoztecans and organized workers into brigades of charcoal burners. As a result, a large portion of the forests of Tepoztlán was practically denuded, and there arose in the village a cleavage between those who wished to conserve the forest resources and those who cut the trees for charcoal.

During the late twenties, Tepoztlán organized a forestry cooperative, the first in the state of Morelos, and large-scale production began again. Conflict ensued and the cooperative ceased to exist in 1937. Since that time, charcoal production has continued on an individual basis. Data on charcoal production in the municipio are available for the years 1934–42. (See Table 41.) During this period 3,921,515 pounds of charcoal were produced. These figures are in all probability lower than the actual amount, for much charcoal is produced secretly in violation of federal forestry regulations.

The tools used in charcoal production are an ax, a shovel, a pickax and a machete. Charcoal workers generally leave the village for the mountains in the early morning, going alone or in groups of two or three friends or relatives. It is not customary to hire workers in this occupation, because most workers want to come home at the end of the day, and charcoal burning necessitates staying out for a few days at a time. To make charcoal, oak and sometimes pine trees are felled cut up into logs a few feet long, and piled upright to form a charcoal oven or

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264 men carry their breakfast with them, to be warmed and eaten later. (See Fig. 40.) They may eat once again at noon and have their dinner when they arrive home, at any time from 5:00 to 9:00 P.M.

562 855 When they eat at home they are usually served first and receive preferential treatment. The women and children who remain at home eat breakfast at 7:00 or 8:00 A.M., dinner at about 1:00 P.M., and supper at dusk. Younger children are generally fed before the mother and the older daughter sit down to eat. In most homes the

291 516

Fig. 40. Men eating in the fields.

351 562 members of the family sit on low chairs or stools, or the women and children sit on the floor. Very few families use a table except during a fiesta meal, and then it is only for the men and guests. Likewise, knives and forks are generally reserved for fiesta times only. The mother serves, handing each person his food in a bowl or wrapped in a tortilla. Spoons may be used, but food is usually eaten with the tortilla as a spoon.

272 264 735 178 757 For most people, breakfast consists of black coffee and tortilla. Some take milk in their coffee and eat bread instead of tortilla; some eat toasted meat or warmed-over beans. During hard times, poorer families drink tea made from cinnamon or local herbs instead of coffee. It should be remembered that coffee drinking is a relatively new phenomenon among the poor; in the late nineteenth century only the *caciques* could afford it. Today, tea drinking is associated with poverty or illness, for many of the teas are used to cure stomach-ache, colds, sore throats, etc.[9]

273 751 [9] In many families it is customary for the father to begin the day with a drink of alcohol. Similarly, when the peasants return from the fields at night, they generally take a drink of alcohol to counteract *los aires* and to avoid taking cold.

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261 262 753 757 855 846 757

In general, cold foods

are believed to cause diarrhea and to be less easily digested than hot foods, and are not given to very small children, to the ill, or to women who have just given birth. Illnesses are also classified as hot and cold types, and it is believed that only hot foods should be eaten with certain illnesses and cold foods with others.

Foods may be neutralized and made less dangerous by mixing certain hot foods with cold foods. For example, milk is not given to new mothers because it is "cold," but it may be taken in coffee, which is "hot." *Atoles* made of corn, a highly recommended food for the ill, have their cold qualities removed by adding brown sugar and cinnamon. *Mole* is cold but may safely be eaten if served with alcoholic drinks. The green tomato, which is eaten almost daily in Tepoztlán, is made harmless by being cooked with beef or served as a sauce with onion and chile, both of which are hot. Hot herbs such as *tequesquite* and *epasote* are often used to neutralize a cold food. Despite this elaboration, Tepoztecans, unlike the Maya, do not preoccupy themselves with this classification of food and do not follow any set rules of eating. Nor is there always agreement about what the rules are or how a food, particularly a new food, is to be classified. The following list of hot and cold foods is based on data from several informants and include only those foods on which there is substantial agreement.

Cold Foods

milk
eggs
cheese
cream
jitomate
rice
noodles
potatoes
all beans except black
lentils
mole verde
mole colorado
atoles made of corn
peanuts
jicama
white *zapote*
chick peas
watermelons
peaches
guayava
papaya
granadas
lettuce
radish
corn-on-the-cob
avocado
banana (*macho* and *manzana* type)
green chile
quince
carrot
prickly pear
nopal
chayote
lemon
lime
pipisacos
chilacayote
chipiles
quelites
quintoniles
papalo
lima beans
verdolaga
white sugar
bread
apple
pear
fish
frog
pigeon
deer
rabbit
boar
squirrel
chicken
veal
pork

Hot Foods

black beans
chile pasilla
coffee
epasote
banana (*guineo*)
melon
wine
tequila
pulque

[the classification of food into "hot" and "cold" types has no relation to temperature, see below. - ANALYST]

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be bewitched as a result of romantic entanglements, and some mothers express anxiety over this and warn their children to be careful. Chronic illness and most deaths accompanied by swelling of the head or other parts of the body are frequently attributed to sorcery.

This situation makes for an oppressive atmosphere, particularly for those individuals who are striving to improve themselves or who, for one reason or another, deviate from strict conformity. It is most true for the more educated or acculturated minority and for a few of the well-to-do. Many of these people give evidence of neuroticism and display the type of tension and discomfiture so often noted among marginal groups who live within two cultures, not wholly accepting or being wholly accepted by either. We have had occasion to observe some of these people who moved to Mexico City, subsequent to our acquaintance with them, and we were astonished to note the transformation which they invariably underwent. Their faces had become less impassive; they had gained weight; they looked happier and more relaxed; they laughed more and behaved with far less formality.

One girl who went to the United States with us described herself as feeling that a great weight had been lifted off her shoulders from the time she left Tepoztlán. She no longer had to worry about gossip, criticism, sorcery, secrecy, and felt more free to express herself as she wished. Of course, this sensation is common among all people who shift from a small rural town to a large city, but in Tepoztecans we noted more striking physiological, psychological, and personality changes.

The sanctions against the overt expression of aggression in inter-personal relations sometimes give rise to an interesting type of disease locally known as *muina*, an illness caused by anger, in which aggression is apparently turned inward against the self. The symptoms of *muina* are loss of appetite, inability to take food, vomiting, loss of weight, and very often death. *Muina* is a fairly common condition and occurs among members of both sexes, primarily among adults but sometimes even among children. It may be caused by insult, humiliation, bad luck, or any other frustration which arouses anger. People with *muina* are not supposed to eat certain foods lest they become seriously ill. The dangerous foods include pork, eggs, milk, bananas, avocados, *chirimoya*, and most "hot" foods.[6]

There are also situations in which the direct expression of aggression is sanctioned, and other occasions in which it is expressed despite community sanctions against it.

Aggression is sometimes expressed directly in the beating of children, wife, or younger sisters or brothers. Men also beat their animals in moments of anger, although generally they are careful not to injure them. Attitudes toward wife beating and child-beating have been changing in the direction of disapproval. In extreme cases of cruelty, the guilty party may be denounced to the authorities and punished. Most cases of wife-beating now occur only when the men are drunk.

[6] It is interesting to note that most of the foods to be avoided contain considerable fat or oil. This suggests the possibility that the emotional disturbance causes liver disorder which makes the patient extremely sensitive to fat and unable to digest it.

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mon. Without exception, our informants described labor dramatically, with emphasis upon the pain. "It is death to bear a baby" is a common sentiment. Some look back at labor with shuddering and expressions of horror, even fifteen years after the birth of their last child. Midwives report that many mothers are severely frightened during and after delivery and must be calmed by being heated with a smoky fire. *Pericón* or rosemary or laurel, or all three, are burned in an old clay pot, and the strong smelling smoke is directed underneath the blanket to heat the woman's lower parts.

After the child is born, the *cenidor* is tightened around the upper part of the abdomen to prevent the blood and the placenta from rising in the mother and possibly causing her death. If the afterbirth is slow in coming, it is a common custom to put salt and onion into the mother's hand so that she can smell them, and she is given some mint leaves to chew. Sometimes a very hot tortilla is placed on the right side of the abdomen and pressed down by the midwife. In very delayed cases some midwives insert their hands to try to pull out the afterbirth.

The afterbirth is buried under the hearth. It is believed that if it is left anywhere else, the baby's face will swell; if it is thrown into the corral, as some do, it may cause *daño;* if it is eaten by a dog, the mother will die. The umbilical cord is cut with a scissors about 4 or 5 fingers away from the child. The remaining cord is tied with a thread and burned with a few drops of wax from a tallow candle. The wax is applied every day until the cord drops off. The umbilical cord is generally kept inside the house and saved to be later used in the treatment of some eye diseases. Some sell the cord to *curanderos* for about twenty-five centavos each. Many believe that only the umbilical cord of the first child or the first son is effective. When a child is born in a caul, it is said he will be rich. The caul is carefully saved for good luck.

Only an occasional woman in Tepoztlán has her child delivered by a doctor. Somewhat more frequently he is called in after delivery if there is some difficulty. The high cost of calling a doctor from Cuernavaca [11] made it prohibitive for the great majority of the families. However, even those with money do not generally call a doctor, particularly a male doctor. The prudishness and suspiciousness of the women are a major inhibiting factor. Women who have used a doctor have become the target of much malicious gossip.

The following quotation from a woman of one of the large barrios is an example of the nature of the gossip, in this case concerning a local schoolteacher, "First she called a *curandero,* and her baby was born, and everything was fine. But she sent for a doctor just to have him feel her, to play with her because that is what she wanted. The midwife said that when the doctor arrived he uncovered the patient and put in his hand and after he played with her he sewed her up. Then he grabbed the baby by the belly and he had it hang that way as though it were his toy. He could have killed him! But that is what they wanted. As for me, for nothing in the

[11] Now there is a doctor in the village.

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closes when touched, is sometimes placed under the child's pillow to make him stop crying and go to sleep. Sometimes the leaf of the *sapote blanco* may also be used. When a small child cries because he is *chincual*, or irritated in the rectum, the small berries of the *tohcachichi*[4] are put into the rectum to stop the crying. If a child is restless and sleepless because of diarrhea, his abdomen and buttocks are rubbed with hot tallow, into which has been mixed the powdered flower of the *comparochitl*, and then wrapped in a hot cloth.

Children are, for the most part, not hurried in their development. A healthy child is expected to walk at about one year and to talk at about two years. If the child does not walk by that time, some parents rub his leg and calf muscles with earth warmed by the sun, to remove the "cold" from his legs. More acculturated women may help their children learn to walk by placing a sash under the arms for support or by putting a toy before them. Children are only mildly encouraged to speak, by repeating words to them. There is little correction of childlike errors in speech, such as substituting "y" for "r" or omitting "s," or misplacing syllables, so that errors persist until the child is five or six years of age. If a child cannot speak by the time he is three or four, a church key may be borrowed and turned in the child's mouth to "unlock" it. It is believed by many that the fingernails of a child should not be cut until he begins to speak, because the palate will fall and the child will be mute. To prevent children from scratching themselves with their long nails, some mothers put little mittens on their hands. When teeth are late in coming, the gums may be rubbed with a grasshopper's leg until the gums bleed. This is an old practice and is no longer known by many of the younger people. It is also believed that a child's hair should not be cut before one year, or the child will become ill.

Most mothers prefer a quiet child to an active one and do not encourage children to be independent. It is considered careless and neglectful to permit children to crawl on the floor or in the dirt, and few mothers put their infants down for more than a moment. This attitude is in part due to the fact that children who crawl are more troublesome and need watching, and in part because there is usually no clean, safe place in which a child may crawl. Inside the house or in the patio there is always danger from insects and animals. Women point out that infants who are allowed to crawl about unobserved almost always suffer from chronic diarrhea, worms, and intestinal diseases. Mothers who have no one to help them often put their small children into a large box while they do their work. In the past a busy mother tied her child to a stake and let him play on a *petate*, but this is no longer done.

All infants in Tepoztlán are carried almost every waking moment up to the time they begin to walk. Children are carried a great deal even after they can walk and not infrequently until they are three and four years old. In Tepoztlán, children are not cradled or slung in the *rebozo*, as in some parts of Mexico, but are held in

[4] *Solanum nigrum.*

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out being scolded; have more opportunities to exercise initiative; make choices; and develop their individuality. Such children also receives rattles, balls, dolls, wagons, etc., which the majority of small children in Tepoztlán do without. One of the wealthier families bought a toy automobile with pedals for a favorite grandchild, but large expenditures such as this are extremely rare. Even in poor families, there is indulgence toward the favorite child. In one very poor family, for example, the oldest daughter had no textbook for school because her mother had permitted the baby brother, a favorite child, to tear it up. This type of indulgence is unusual, because most Tepoztecan families are careful not to permit children to damage property.

There is little preoccupation with toilet training, and there is no conventional method or set time to accomplish it. There is almost no effort made to control urination during the first two years. If an infant tends to urinate too frequently, it is believed that the spleen is "cold" and should be warmed by an application of unguent of *ales* and hot tallow. Bathing the child in the *temascal* is another form of treatment.

Although expressions of disgust at having to clean up bowel movements are frequent, these do not appear to be related to any deep-seated repulsion. It is the rare mother who is persistent or methodical in training her children early in bowel control. Only two informants displayed any compulsion concerning toilet training and followed a rigid procedure with their children from the age of six months. It is the more acculturated mothers who give earlier and consistent attention to toilet training.

Most mothers take their children to the corral with them two or three times a day when the children are able to walk well. Before that time, children are scolded when they soil themselves and "are called 'little pig,' so that they will be ashamed." By the time children are sixteen months or two years of age, many mothers begin to spank them hard enough to make them cry for doing their "necessities" in the wrong place. At two, some children ask to have their pants removed and can go to the corral alone. Some are able to clean themselves with a stone or leaf or paper at this age. When a child is able to tie and untie his pants, usually by four or five, he is able to go independently. After age four, children are no longer permitted to accompany their mothers to the corral.

There is a tendency for mothers to be more lenient with boys, especially favorites, than with girls in toilet training, with the result that girls are trained earlier. They are spanked and scolded more consistently and harshly, and are required to be less demanding of assistance. Boys between the ages of two and five are occasionally seen playing in the patio naked from the waist down, but more "correct" people consider it very improper to permit boys to play without pants.

Infancy ends with weaning. A child who is nursed for less than two years is generally considered to be deprived. Most mothers nurse their infants until they know that they are again pregnant, which may not be until the fifth month after conception. It is a widespread belief that it is harmful to the child to nurse while

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862 the mother is pregnant, but many mothers do not wean the child until he shows definite symptoms of becoming ill. If weaning due to a new pregnancy occurs before two years, the mother and father are said to be inconsiderate of their infant. Weaning at one year sometimes occurs because the mother is ill or has insufficient milk. Although women frequently complain that they become thin and tired when they nurse, or that they receive painful bites, they rarely wean a child for these reasons. A few mothers regularly wean their children at eighteen months. Weaning [858] may be delayed in the case of a favorite child, to avoid making him cry.

One mother, who suffered from sore nipples, decided to wean her three-year-old son while her husband was away. When her husband came home that night he became angry and said that if the boy cried, the mother would receive a beating. Many people believe that the longer a child is nursed, the stronger he will be. It is not uncommon for the youngest and last child to be nursed as long as he wishes, sometimes for four or five years. Some believe, however, that after two years of nursing, the child begins to drink the mother's blood "like a bat," and that nursing a child too long will make him stupid.

When the mother decides to wean the child she places a bitter substance (*sdvila*) on the nipple, often in the child's presence, and tells him that her breast is sore and that he may no longer nurse. Some mothers wean *por derecho*, that is by binding the breasts and not permitting the child to see them again. But many do not bind the breasts for several days, and if the child cries or begs hard he is given the breast so that he "will not be angry" with the mother. If the child continues to nurse despite the *sdvila*, a more bitter substance (*prodigiosa*)[8] is applied. Today, [824] bicarbonate of soda, iodine, alcohol, etc., are also used. A child is considered difficult to wean if he continues to nurse despite the "medicines" applied. Crying, even if prolonged over eight days, is viewed as a normal part of weaning. In general, the younger the child the more difficult he is to wean. A delicate or sickly child may be treated more gently, by gradually reducing the number of nursings for eight or fifteen days before weaning is begun, but few women do this. Since so many children are nursed for at least two years, most of them are weaned in a few days. Few mothers consider weaning difficult.

Many women have a great deal of milk, and their breasts are painful during weaning. Some express the milk with their hands to relieve the pain, others cannot and must rely on binding. Hot alcohol is rubbed on the breasts and back, or heated [757] tortillas are placed on the breasts, to ease the pain. Another technique is to heat the *tejolate* (pestle) and rub the breast with it. It is believed that nursing should not be resumed once the breasts are bound because the milk changes and acts as a purgative. When milk is expressed, it is generally buried in the earth in a place [825] where the ants will not get to it so that the mother will have a good supply of milk for her next baby. Some women express the milk into a cloth and throw it over the roof for the same reason.

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[8] *Colrosantus.*

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177 511 [265] [275] aged foods, mostly to the employed people who live in the center. Old women sold ready-made tortillas in the plaza. There was still no restaurant but there were more saloons. A blare of radios came from the houses and inside some homes one saw a new kerosene or Coleman stove, aluminum pots, kerosene or gasoline lamps, forks, and hand presses for shaping tortillas. At least one home had overstuffed furniture.

But many more changes have occurred than meet the eye. As a [161] result of the population increase—from 3,500 in 1940 to approximately 4,800 [362] in 1957—there is a shortage of housesites and houses, and Tepoztecans petitioned the local government to make available some of the nearby communal lands for new housesites. Several homes have been built on the outskirts of the village and in the surrounding *cerros*. Formerly it was not customary to rent [427] a house; if a Tepoztecan had an extra house he would allow another villager to use it simply for the care of it. Now rental has become quite usual.

177 Since the late forties Tepoztlán has had a resident doctor and since [759] 1952 a doctor from Cuernavaca who formerly practiced in the village has come once a week to see his patients. The clientele of both doctors has been increasing. In 1950, the resident doctor had an average of 75 patients a [278] month; by 1956 the average was 160. Tepoztecans now complain about the expense of medicines and the delay caused by having prescriptions filled in Cuernavaca; the local "druggist" cannot fill prescriptions and carries few [743] patent medicines. The village has a free federal government health clinic [744] which cares for children and pregnant women and administers injections. [751] About ten patients, most of them expectant mothers, come there every day. In 1955 approximately two thousand vaccinations and revaccinations were given.

177 The clinic and the doctor have by no means replaced the *curanderos*, 757 however. Tepoztecans believe that doctors can cure only certain diseases, 753 and still frequent *curanderos* for those illnesses which they attribute to *los aires*, anger, hot or cold foods, evil eye, and sorcery. Most births are still [759] attended by the native midwives. If the doctor happens to cure an illness [844] thought to be caused by *los aires*, this is taken as proof that the *aires* were not truly the cause. Although the villagers have substituted new terms for old concepts—for example, *los aires* are now sometimes described as tiny animals or microbes and injections are called "cleansings"—it is questionable whether this represents much of a departure from the earlier magical thinking about the causes of disease.

177 241 [312] [377] Like many villages in the densely populated central plateau area, Tepoztlán has not had the benefit of the great new hydroelectric and irrigation projects. Its agricultural base has remained very much the same; there has been no mechanization and no new important cash crops have been introduced. The peasants continue to work their land as before, although a few [464] are now using some commercial fertilizer. Because the lack of change in agriculture combined with the rapidly increasing population has forced Tepoztecans [314] to seek work in nonfarm occupations, a much lower proportion of the gainfully occupied are now peasants. The federal campaign for the preservation of

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some Tepoztecans had visited the federal Public Health Station in nearby Cuernavaca, and a few of the local midwives had received some instruction from public health nurses.

For the majority of people, however, indigenous folk medicine as practiced by curanderos is still the dominant form of medicine. Thus, the traditional remedies for "evil eye" and "fright" involve a combination of folk beliefs, ancient herbal lore, and Catholic practice. A child is believed to be the victim of the evil eye if he comes home crying and very much disturbed. An egg is broken into a glass and if a long eye-shaped spot appears on the yolk, the person responsible for putting the eye upon the child is a man; if the spot is round, it is a woman. The child's clothes are changed and he is "cleansed" with a soiled kerchief or shirt if the guilty person was male, and with an apron or shawl if a female. Some children are cured by being cleansed on their foreheads, with the tongue making the form of a cross.

"Fright" is an illness which leaves children sad and pale; it is cured by women who can "lay the shadow" that afflicts them. These curanderos keep a supply of powdered cedar, palm, and blessed laurel which they throw on the forehead, breast, wrists, palms of the hand, nape of the neck, and into the nostrils of the sick child. While this is being done the woman prays the Credo, and at the end holds the child's head and cries out that the shadow should withdraw and that the child no longer need be frightened. Some cure fright by having the priest read the gospel over the child in the presence of the child's godparent of the same sex.

The most celebrated healer in Tepoztlán is one Rosalino Vargas, known as Don Rosas. He is also believed to be a powerful sorcerer and is feared by many of the villagers. Some people claim to have seen him riding through the village at midnight wearing a long black cape, with sparks issuing from his eyes and mouth. Don Rosas, who often uses the fear he inspires to his own advantage, has several enemies, at least three of whom made attempts to murder him in recent years. Don Rosas is wealthy and has a flourishing practice. He has seven female assistants; there is much gossip to the effect that these women are his paramours who sleep with him in turn, one for each day in the week. Don Rosas' loyal

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increasing purchasing power. This in turn requires an action program wider than health improvement by itself.

Introducing Modern Medicine in Rural Mexico

Despite their high degree of acculturation, the majority of Tepoztecans are not ready to give up their curanderos. However, they are ready to consider the doctor an alternative, especially in cases of chronic or serious illnesses. This was clearly shown by the fact already mentioned that the doctor's first patients were persons who suffered from chronic illnesses which apparently had not responded to the treatment of the curanderos. Because of this circumstance the doctor begins with a handicap. Unable to produce miraculous cures in these far-gone cases, he loses prestige.

There is a great lack of confidence in doctors, partly because so many of them display an attitude of superiority toward native concepts of disease and often ridicule native beliefs and practices. Indeed, the Tepoztecans, as well as the doctors, are keenly aware of their different conceptual worlds. This is undoubtedly a serious obstacle to the spreading of modern medical practice and unless the gap between these two distinct levels of explanation is bridged, progress will be very slow.

A few examples from Tepoztlán will help to make this clear. According to Tepoztecans, there are "hot" and "cold" diseases, just as there are "hot" and "cold" foods. A mother who is convinced that her child is suffering from a hot disease brought on by the adultery of her husband, knows that the child needs a cold medicine. If she goes to a curandero, she tells him that the child is suffering from a hot disease, but if she goes to a doctor she says nothing. If the doctor's medicine does not improve the child, the mother attributes it to the fact that the doctor did not understand the nature of the illness and gave the child a hot medicine instead of a cold medicine.

On the other hand, if the curandero does not effect a cure, her explanation is of a different kind. She now believes that the heat of the disease was so great that there was no medicine cold enough to counteract it; her faith in the curandero and distrust of the doctor continue. In the case of the illnesses supposedly caused by humors or spirits of the air, most Tepoztecans are reluctant to

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visit a doctor because of their conviction that doctors do not understand either the cause or the cure of such diseases.

Governed by their own interpretation of illness, people in the village approach modern doctors with distrust, realizing that they do not fully understand certain classes of illness, such as those due to evil humors or those related to the hot-cold distinction. It is, therefore, important for the doctor to become familiar with the native concepts and to utilize them as a psychological means of gaining confidence. The job of establishing rapport and gaining confidence under these conditions is no easy one. It demands a doctor who has the zeal and spirit of a missionary and some understanding of the relativity of cultural values.

Aside from factors of personality and of understanding local beliefs, the ability of a doctor to gain confidence and prestige depends upon his technical skill in making accurate diagnoses and effecting cures. While it is unfair to generalize about the quality of Mexican rural doctors as a whole, our impression from personal experience is that they are poorly trained and equipped and show little enthusiasm for work in the villages. Considering the conditions under which rural doctors must live and work in Mexico, it is probable that this phenomenon is more widespread. There is little incentive for the superior doctor to leave the city and go to rural areas. At best, few are willing to undergo the hardships of rural life with its isolation and lack of comforts and diversions; in addition, salaries are low, opportunities for advancement are few, and there is little permanency of assignment. As a result of these conditions, rural doctors are frequently recruited from those of inferior abilities and this in turn makes it more difficult to win over the Indian villager to modern medicine.

Local Organizational Patterns

Any attempt to revive or establish a "democratic" institution, such as a cooperative in a community that has lived for years under an authoritative system, must take cognizance of the profound effect of this conditioning to authority upon the psychology of the people. The lack of personal initiative and village spirit found in Tepoztlán may be attributed to this conditioning. Our experience made it clear that chances for success would have been